A MESSAGE to the CHURCHES

from the

NATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

on

THE CHURCHES AND A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

Cleveland, Ohio

JANUARY 16-19, 1945

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ

THE COMMISSION ON A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

NOTE

THE MESSAGE of the Cleveland Conference, herewith printed in full, resulted from the deliberations of the delegates who had been named by the appropriate agencies of their respective communions and allied religious organizations. The Conference, in adopting its Message, spoke only for itself, and not for the churches or the Federal Council, to which the message had not been submitted before printing. The Conference assumes full responsibility for the publication of its findings.

The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of The Federal Council of Churches transmits the Message of the Cleveland Conference to the Churches for their study and action.

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THE COMMISSION ON A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE
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FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

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INTRODUCTION

THE second National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace was held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 16–19, 1945. The Conference met under the auspices of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, instituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and was presided over by the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. John Foster Dulles.

The purpose of the Conference was threefold; to study the program of the churches for world order; to study the current international situation in the light of the Guiding Principles (adopted at Delaware) and the Six Pillars of Peace; to adopt such findings and make such recommendations to the churches and the government as might be deemed appropriate.

Invitations to the Conference had been sent to various communions within and without the Federal Council; allied religious bodies officially constituted by the boards and agencies of the churches; city and state councils of churches; Christian bodies responsible for educational programs on world order; the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace; and the religious press. The Conference was attended by 481 delegates from 34 communions, 18 allied religious bodies and 70 city and state councils of churches. The delegates did not speak officially for their respective communions and organizations. Nor is the Message of the Conference to be construed as the action of the participating or sponsoring bodies.

Two Commissions were set up prior to the convening of the Conference. The first Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Walter M. Horton of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, prepared for the use of the delegates a Memorandum on The Program of the Churches for World Order. The second Commission, under the chairmanship of Professor William E. Hocking of Harvard University, prepared a Memorandum on The Churches and the Current International Situation. A third Memorandum, prepared under the direction of both Commissions, was entitled, What Shall the Churches Now Do?

The membership of the Conference was divided into three equal groups and each group discussed each of the three Memoranda.

The Officers of the three groups and the Findings Committee on Memorandum I were:

Chairmen:	Dr. Frederick Reissig, Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Dr. Georgia Harkness
Co-Chairmen:	Dr. J. R. Mutchmor, Dr. Paul S. Heath, Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson
Secretaries:	Dr. M. Stephen James, Rev. J. Gordon Chamberlin, Dr. Elmer J. Arndt

Chairman of Commission on Memorandum I: Dr. Walter M. Horton

OFFICERS OF THE FINDINGS COMMITTEE

Chairman:	Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Secretary:	Dr. Elmer J. Arndt

The Officers of the three groups and the Findings Committee on Memorandum II were:

Chairmen: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. E. E. Aubrey, Mr. Eugene Barnett
Co-Chairmen: Dr. Justin W. Nixon, Dr. John H. Lathrop, Dr. Ernest F. Tittle
Secretaries: Dr. M. Searle Bates, Dr. Emory Ross, Mr. Richard Wood
Chairman of Commission on Memorandum II: Dr. William E. Hocking

OFFICERS OF THE FINDINGS COMMITTEE

Chairman: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Secretary: Dr. Emory Ross

The Officers of the three groups and the Findings Committee on Memorandum III were:

Chairmen: Mrs. Harper Sibley, Dr. John R. Cunningham, Mr. Wilbur LaRoe, Jr.
Co-Chairmen: Dr. Stanley Manning, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Dr. Henry G. Harmon
Secretaries: Dr. William G. Mather, Rev. Vernon H. Holloway, Dr. Raymond M. Veh
Presenter of Memorandum III: Dr. Charles J. Turck

OFFICERS OF THE FINDINGS COMMITTEE

Chairman: Dr. John R. Cunningham
Secretary: Rev. Vernon H. Holloway

The following persons constituted the Conference Committee on the Message to the Churches:

Chairman: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Secretary: Dr. O. Frederick Nolde

Dr. Elmer J. Arndt
Dr. John R. Cunningham
Mr. John Foster Dulles
Dr. Georgia Harkness
Dr. William E. Hocking
Rev. Vernon H. Holloway
Dr. Walter M. Horton
Dr. Charles C. Morrison
Dr. Emory Ross
Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Mrs. Harper Sibley
Dr. Ernest F. Tittle
Dr. Charles J. Turck
Dr. Luman J. Shafer, ex-officio
Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, ex-officio

The Conference opened and closed with services of worship at the Old Stone Church. Bishop Ivan Lee Holt presided at the opening service. The invocation was read by the Rev. Herman A. Klahr and the address was delivered by Mr. John Foster Dulles. At the closing service of worship the speaker was Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and other participants were Bishop John S. Stamm and Dr. Paul Scherer.

The staff of the Commission is preparing a Study Guide based upon the Cleveland Message. Inquiries regarding this pamphlet should be directed to Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES

THE CHURCHES AND WORLD ORDER

Part I

Christian Faith and World Order

1. The Christian Faith

We are living in a uniquely dangerous and promising time. It is dangerous because we are faced with widespread evidence of religious and moral disintegration as well as with effects of war in increasing suspicion, fear and hatred. It is promising because a new spiritual vitality is manifesting itself under the Providence of God and witnessing to that quality of the Christian faith which demonstrates its strength in adversity. In our effort to make decisions and to take action which shall help to guide the world from anarchy and chaos forward to a just and creative peace, we are called to re-affirm our faith.

It is the Christian faith that God's righteous rule is over all men and nations; that in Christ He confronts us all alike in judgment and mercy; that men, though sinful, are made in His image and are not only the concern of His saving work but His agents as well, each of value in His sight without distinction of class, race or condition; that the Church, the body of Christ and the fellowship of Christ's followers, is the creation of His spirit, and the steward of His purpose; that His Kingdom on earth is an unconquerable Kingdom of justice and mercy and truth in which it is our responsibility to bring human laws and human institutions into increasing accord with His holy will.

In this Christian faith, the purposes which we seek to realize are fashioned. As we affirm the worth of man in God's sight, so we must act by the Christian principle of reverence for human personality. God sees His children united in one family whose individual and corporate life is the goal of redemption: we must be joined in the common effort to make effective in individual relations and in corporate acts, the Christian principles which we affirm. God's way is the way of justice, love and mercy; justice, love and mercy must rule our life with our fellows. While compulsion and control are needed for the restraint of evil in a world of imperfection, the ultimate victory over evil must be by way of redemptive good will, by which alone, can good be created. God's way with men is the way of freedom and responsibility; man's true life as a man is achieved only when that way is freely chosen and freely wrought out. As we need humility and penitence in standing before God, so do we need humility and penitence in our dealings with men. Whenever human practice goes counter to these principles which root in our faith, the Christian must raise his voice in protest.

It is in this Christian faith that our confidence is grounded. For our confidence is in God, the establisher of the order within which men and nations work, and in the forces of the spirit which God employs. We be-

lieve in the might of truth as against falsehood and deceit and in the power of right to command the conscience and to overcome oppression and wrong. We believe in the power of good will as greater than selfishness and force; in the value of mutual trust as against distrust and suspicion; and in the might of faith as greater than cynicism, doubt and despair. God's grace, made manifest in Christ, rescues men from despair, has power to remake them when they turn to Him for healing and forgiveness, and redeems all their life. We see this power even now at work in the world in lives made new, in sins forgiven and conquered, in hopes rekindled.

We rejoice in the Church of Christ as a world fellowship which today unites men in faith and love transcending nation, race and class. We rejoice that a growing number of men of good will outside the Church, in recognition of the moral law, seek with us the creation of "one world" of justice and security for all men. Let the Church purge itself of inner division, unite with all who work for these high ends, and so live out its principles of justice and love in the face of all dictates of selfishness and counsels of expediency as to create new faith, new conscience and new hope.

2. The Church's Mission

Out of the continuous creative vitality of the Christian faith has grown the Church of which we are a part. The Church as bearer and sharer of the revelation of God in Christ, stands under a divine compulsion to serve the world, with equal responsibility for all people. The misery, want and sin of the world today bring to us a new sense of the urgency of the commission "Go ye into all the world."

"Home Missions" and "Foreign Missions" are aspects of the one world mission to which the Church is called. Both are significant in the Church's contribution to world order. The most effective assurance for justice in an abiding world order is in the expansion of allegiance by men and nations to the Christian faith. This is as greatly needed within America as elsewhere. The reconstruction of devastated lands, the rebirth of hope and determination for a world of justice and the will to create instruments for the expression of that hope are central in the Church's mission.

The world mission of the Church has helped to create among our people concern about international affairs and has opened channels for the efforts of the churches toward a just and durable peace. Through missionary agencies relief is and can be administered, reconstruction can be furthered in many areas, and the long range objectives of world order promoted. The immediate and practical necessities of mission work as well as the impulse to unite in Christ have promoted widespread interdenominational cooperation. This, in turn, has given impetus to that ecumenical movement which now brings promise that the energies of the churches will be utilized to face their overwhelming opportunities. This cooperation must be further developed. What is called for is a united Protestant missionary movement. The churches are therefore urged immediately to strengthen and unify their missionary enterprise both at home and abroad so that their unique contribution to world order may be equal to these opportunities.

3. Principle and Action

Christians must act in situations as they exist and must decide what God's will demands of them there. At all times they must keep the ultimate

goals clearly in view but they have equal responsibility to mark out attainable steps toward those goals, and support them. An idealism which does not accept the discipline of the achievable may lose its power for good and ultimately lend aid to forces with whose purpose it can not agree.

If we accept, provisionally, situations which fall short of our ultimate objective, we cannot be morally bound to sustain and perpetuate them. That would be stultifying. It is the possibility of change which is the bridge from the immediate situation to the Christian ideal. That possibility is an imperative for Christians, who must constantly maintain tension with any secular order.

The churches through their leaders have the task of assisting people in situations of this kind. Specifically, in the realm of world order, the churches must declare their understanding of the will of God for life among the peoples of the world. They must do this while proposals are being framed. They must continue to do it after governments have made their decisions. When a concrete proposal for world organization is presented, Christian leaders must help the people to decide whether it marks a presently obtainable step in the right direction and, if so, urge them to give it their support.

4. American Attitudes and World Peace

Whether America will be a help or a hindrance in building a peaceable world depends upon the attitudes of individuals and groups in our nation. We call attention to the dangers which lurk in complacency towards existing injustices; the frequent contradictions we tolerate between our ultimate beliefs and our conscious aims; the false sense of national security which — in spite of the lessons of two tragic wars — holds that the United States can live apart from the rest of the world and its problems; intolerance and discrimination; selfishness which refuses to recognize that we are members one of another and is unwilling to run risks for the sake of the world community; blind devotion to national sovereignty; the cynicism which believes there always must be wars and puts its reliance upon force alone; and the spirit of hatred and vengeance toward other peoples. It is our concern that such attitudes should not prevail, but rather that in us and in our fellow citizens those attitudes should be developed which support the growth of world community.

5. Domestic Order and World Order

Over a century and a half ago it was given to the American people to determine by struggle and experiment whether government by the people could be established and maintained on the earth. Upon the success of this adventure rested a great hope for mankind. In the intervening years the growth of the United States as a home for human freedom has been a notable fact and influence. It must now be demonstrated that human freedom is compatible with economic security. A new challenge is offered to the people of America to establish along with political democracy an opportunity through productive employment to earn an income sufficient for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health, recreation and cultural pursuits, and assurance to every individual of whatever race of an equal and unsegregated opportunity for worship, protection in time of unemployment, illness or need, and full political and civil rights.

The economic system which proved adequate in an earlier period has

in our day, revealed grave defects and inadequacies under the strain of modern industrial conditions. All elements in the economic system — consumer, employee, management, capital, and government — should move from the strife and restrictions of our present situation to a full and free cooperation with the objective of greatly increased production and distribution to meet the expanded human needs in this and other countries. We recognize the need of experimentation with various forms of ownership and control, private, cooperative and public.

A challenging effort in the United States in the solution of our domestic economic problem will be followed by favorable repercussions in the economic and spiritual life of the world, thus contributing to the establishment of a just and durable peace.

The right of private property is not an absolute right but a right qualified by the public interest. Likewise freedom of enterprise does not imply absolute freedom but operation of enterprise consonant with the interest of the public and the welfare of the nation. In the use of property and in the operation of enterprise, therefore, the welfare of society should be given primary consideration; and it is the duty of the state to prescribe such regulation of industry and of the conditions under which it is carried on as will result in wholesome conditions of employment and fair treatment to those who are engaged in it and to the public at large.

The Church must therefore condemn any failure of our economic system to meet the basic needs which have been indicated. We must ask our people to recognize that in order to supply these needs for all, many changes may be necessary in our economic practices. These changes will probably lie in the direction of a larger measure of social planning and control than characterized our pre-war system. They should be brought about by democratic processes and should be consistent with Christian principles with respect to the worth of personality and the value of freedom. We should not allow our devotion to any single system or method to deny to anyone the basic requirements for "the good life." Nor should we allow our preference for our economic or political system to prevent us from collaborating, for the achievement of world order and world peace, with peoples who have a different system.

In order to maintain our democracy at a high level it must continually be adjusted to meet the necessities of history and the demands of justice. Only if our domestic order is born again with fresh vision and determination to meet the needs of men can America fulfil her new mission and bring hope and encouragement to a broken world.

Part II

Christian Standards and Current International Developments

The decisions and actions of governments in the present international situation will have direct bearing upon the extent to which nations will collaborate in the postwar period. Tentative proposals for an international organization were agreed upon at Dumbarton Oaks by delegations of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China and the United States. They have been offered to the public for discussion.

In the light of the Guiding Principles and the Six Pillars of Peace,* we offer our appraisal of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and we call attention to certain related matters which we believe must be considered in connection with any international organization for world order and security.

1. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

We commend these Proposals to the consideration of the churches.

The Proposals are the only plan which governments have thus far evolved and therefore are the only available index to the extent of agreement which is now possible.

They set forth certain purposes and principles essential to world order and peace.

They provide for continuing collaboration of the United Nations, and in due course of other nations.

They provide through an Assembly for the periodic consultation of all member nations and for promoting cooperation in the interest of the general welfare.

They provide an Economic and Social Council for facilitating solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and for coordinating international policies and agencies in this field.

They provide, through a Security Council, for continuing consultation of representatives of the greater powers and of selected lesser powers with a view to a peaceful settlement of disputes and the restraint of aggression.

The Proposals now stand at a formative stage and the way has been opened for recommendations for improvement which will make them more acceptable to the Christian conscience.

Accordingly, we recommend that the churches support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world cooperation but because we do not approve of them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement:

(1) Preamble

A Preamble should reaffirm those present and long range purposes of justice and human welfare which are set forth in the Atlantic Charter and which reflect the aspirations of peoples everywhere.

(2) Development of International Law

The Charter of the Organization should clearly anticipate its operation under international law and should provide for the development and codification of international law, to the end that there shall be a progressive subordination of force to law.

(3) Voting Power

A nation, while having the right to discuss its own case, should not be permitted to vote when its case is being judged in accordance with predetermined international law.

(4) Colonial and Dependent Areas

A special Commission should be established wherein the progress of colonial and dependent peoples to autonomy, and the interim problems related thereto, will become an international responsibility.

* The Guiding Principles were adopted at the Delaware Conference in March, 1942, and later by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The Statement of Political Propositions (the Six Pillars of Peace) was developed by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and made public in March, 1943.

(5) Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

A special Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be established.

(6) Eventual Universal Membership

The Charter should specify that all nations willing to accept the obligations of membership shall thereupon be made members of the Organization.

(7) Limitations of Armaments

More specific provision should be made for promptly initiating the limitation and reduction of national armaments.

(8) Smaller Nations

There should be provisions designed more clearly to protect and defend the smaller nations from possible subjection to the arbitrary power of the great.

(9) Amendment

In order to permit such changes in the Charter of the Organization as may from time to time become necessary, the provision for amendments should be liberalized so as not to require concurrence by all the permanent members of the Security Council.

2. Political Conduct Required to Promote Further Collaboration

There are four principles of conduct which are needed to bring collaboration out of the realm of theory and into that of reality.

(1) We believe our government should adopt and publicly proclaim its long range goals. These should stem from our Christian tradition and be such as to inspire and unify us. Without such defined goals we will lack enthusiasm and sense of direction; we will not be able to measure our progress.

(2) We believe our government should not merely talk about its ideals. It must get down into the arena and fearlessly and skilfully battle for them. It must do so, not merely sporadically, but steadily. It must do so even under conditions such that partial and temporary defeat is inevitable.

(3) We believe our government must, however, battle for its ideals under conditions such that no particular set-back need be accepted as definitive. It must be made clear that collaboration implies not merely a spirit of compromise but equally a right, on the part of every nation, to persist in efforts to realize its ideals.

(4) We believe our electorate, demanding the foregoing of its government, must judge its government accordingly. It should not judge it merely by the immediate results attained. It must rather judge it by its announced long term objectives, by whether it works competently to achieve them and by whether it brings into actual functioning procedures of peaceful change so that the world may evolve away from present harsh necessities. If our government will meet those tests, the electorate should applaud such conduct irrespective of dissatisfaction with immediate results.

3. Economic Cooperation

The economic aspect of human life concerns the Church in two ways: through the widespread fact of poverty and through those maladjustments

which, never the sole causes of war, may predispose populations to war.

Poverty concerns the Christian conscience not alone because men hunger but also because their spirits tend to be stunted by it and their freedom limited. Low standards of living over large areas diminish the possibilities of trade and also of cultural intercourse. Morality and self-interest combine to show that in a world tending toward unity by communication, the standard of living of men anywhere is a concern of men everywhere.

Poverty is not to be dealt with primarily by charity but by aiding undernourished populations to use their own resources, to develop agricultural techniques and industries suitable to their region, and to participate in world trade.

In order to prevent recurrent depression the goal of full employment of labor and of economic resources on a world scale should be continuously pursued.

Because of the growing interdependence of peoples, the development of backward regions has become a common task of mankind, in which regard for one's neighbor joins a long range self-interest. The immensity of the task, which is equally economic and educational, requires cooperative investment and effort on a world scale. Here some form of world organization, such as the Economic and Social Council proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, must be sought as a supplement to private undertaking. The International Labor Organization and the organized labor movement are also to be recognized as having an important role in raising the standards of living of the peoples of the world.

Economically advanced nations constitute among themselves a community in which no one can prosper through the disadvantage of others. Their policies can no longer intelligently follow the line of economic nationalism. Barriers to world trade, whether in the nature of tariffs or of cartels, have become doubtful props of national welfare; and all of those acts, economic and political, in which one people affects the fortunes of another become subject both to the judgment of self-interest and of morality. A world point of view must be developed in economics, and the appropriate institutions developed. In such institutions our own nation must actively participate both for its own welfare and for the common good.

Such intelligent supervision of world agriculture, resources, markets, currencies, and communications, and of world trade, may not imply in each case an authoritative regulating agency; but it does require an active self-regulation with a sense of responsibility and of stewardship for the just and constructive use of economic power.

The right of property is based, not upon man's animal need, but upon his personal nature as man. Private property is an essential aid to the maturing of human personality. It has been customary to set communism and capitalism over against each other on this point, the one denying private property, the other holding private property an absolute claim over against the state. Neither of these positions is now held in this extreme form; in both types of economy property is recognized as important for human character and is therefore the proper subject of public interest; so all economies today are mixed economies, showing a degree of private and a degree of common property. Neither is a fixed system, and to some extent in practice they tend to converge. To the extent that the sacredness of the human person, his liberty and responsibility to God, is acknowledged by both systems their cooperation in building a peaceable international order is facilitated. But in any case they can and must cooperate.

4. Human Rights

We have recommended that, in connection with the World Organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, there be established a special Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. We believe that religious liberty is basic to all human rights and that it should be accompanied by equal and unsegregated opportunity for all races. The Commission we have recommended should seek an international agreement on the rights and freedoms to be secured to all people; it should further formulate the procedures for their realization by action of the World Organization and of the separate states. This is in harmony with our sixth pillar of peace which declares, "that the peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty." It also follows a purpose set forth in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, "to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

5. The Peace Settlement in Europe with Special Reference to Germany

In respect to the peace settlement in Europe, we share the following convictions:

The settlement following the war should be inspired by the desire to secure the maximum of collaboration among the peoples of Europe and encourage the economic development of Europe as a whole including Germany. The unilateral determination of boundaries would impair such collaboration. The settlement should insure to the smaller and weaker nations the fullest measure of autonomy consistent with European unity and world organization for peace.

The settlement should make possible the reconciliation of victors and vanquished. That implies that it should remove the power as well as the will of aggressive elements within Germany to make war. However, the necessary discipline of Germany because of the crimes committed in her name should not be vindictive. The partition of Germany into separate states should not be imposed upon the German people. The treatment of Germany should be calculated to strengthen the forces within that country committed to liberal civil policies and to international cooperation.

Among the constructive forces upon which a new Germany and a new European concord can be based, the churches are of primary importance. As they have been centers of resistance to tyranny and injustice within Germany and within the occupied countries so they may become a medium through which reconciliation may be accomplished, and through which the process of the re-education and reconstruction of Germany may be carried out in the only way that gives any promise of success — voluntarily from within. The World Council of Churches will greatly aid in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction as the churches of the defeated, the liberated and the victorious nations are brought together into conference and collaboration.

6. The Peace Settlement in Asia with Special Reference to Japan

We are convinced that a just and durable peace in the Far East is possible only in the framework of world organization, supplemented by regional cooperation for security and welfare.

China desperately requires unrestrained opportunity for internal development. It is of urgent importance that China's voice in international affairs be given special heed, in order to cement new relationships between oriental and western peoples.

As in the case of Germany, so with Japan, the power and will to make war must be removed. However, Japan's basic economic problems, aggravated by the war and by the expected loss of her colonial possessions must be met by "access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world" as pledged by the Atlantic Charter "to all States, great or small, victor or vanquished." Treatment of Japan by the United Nations should be favorable to constructive forces within Japanese society, and should aim to bring Japan at an early date into normal relations with the world community.

We can enter into right relations with the vast and significant populations of China, Japan and Southeast Asia, none of them white, only upon the basis of the equality of races in justice and law. Indeed, a Christian outlook upon the Far East discerns that a world order is impossible if color discrimination is maintained. The churches recognize a special responsibility for reconciliation in such ways as may be possible after the war.

Addendum to 5 and 6. The Peace Settlement with Special Reference to Germany and Japan

We urge that the time is at hand when the governments of the allied nations should make a more explicit statement as to the status of both Germany and Japan following the war. We believe such a statement is needed in order to satisfy Christian concern and to prevent needless sacrifice of life upon the battlefield.

7. Dependent Peoples

Long and intimate relationships with the dependent peoples of Africa, Southeast Asia, and other parts of the world, place on the Christian churches a responsibility to champion their right to freedom and to develop their capacity for self-government.

We therefore call upon our government and others: (1) to proclaim self-government as the goal for all dependent peoples; (2) where dependent peoples are ready for self-government, to give it now; (3) otherwise, to initiate progressive steps suitable for each area for achieving that goal; and (4) in the interim to provide that all such areas shall be administered under the supervision of world organization.

We cannot in good conscience be a party to the dismantling of Japanese colonial possessions without at the same time insisting that the imperialism of the white man shall be brought to the speediest possible end. We cannot have a sound or stable world community so long as there is enforced submission of one people to the will of another whether in Korea, in India, in the Congo, in Porto Rico or anywhere else.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The task now before us is to channel the spiritual power generated in this Conference into deeds. Solemn pronouncements are not enough. Upon the minds and consciences of our people must be laid the duty and opportunity of using the world-wide resources of the Church to bring about a world organized for justice and peace.

1. The Churches and Federal Unity

The present structure of denominational Protestantism is not adequate to deal with the issues of our time. The problems of war, of labor, of the chaplaincy, or the returning veteran, of the world-wide mission of the Church, of our relations with the Christian churches of Europe and Asia and with other faiths, are all too vast and difficult for solution by our separate denominational units. While we are asking for cooperation and unity in the political and economic fields, Protestants themselves must take seriously to heart the duty of achieving a far higher degree of unity. We have already come far on the road of cooperation. But we must achieve a more vital and visible federal unity than we now have — a unity that will preserve the freedom of various denominational groups, and at the same time release the undeveloped and uncoordinated resources of Protestantism and focus them on the solution of these pressing problems. We, therefore, urge the denominations to consider earnestly the possibilities in ways not now envisaged of realizing more fully the ecumenical fellowship by implementing the principles of federal unity on local, state and national levels.

2. Youth and the World Order

If our purposes are to be achieved the new leadership of the churches must be world-minded and trained in the techniques of building a Christian world community. In these efforts, youth itself must lead and the youth agencies be strengthened to provide more challenging programs resulting in life dedicated to Christ. Increased representation of youth in all the agencies of the churches should be speedily provided.

The churches are urged, in their total educational process, but especially through the church-related colleges, the student Christian movements and the theological seminaries to expand and adjust their programs in order to enlist and train world-minded churchmen who will take their place in the ecumenical movement.

3. Children and World Peace

Parents and teachers in the home and in the churches are called upon to teach children the conditions of world peace. Particularly, they should be helped to develop constructive attitudes, devoid of hate toward other peoples. Christian education for children must include study dealing with missions, race relations, and community life. Adults must help children develop attitudes and ways of behaving essential for Christian world citizenship.

4. Study and Action for American Participation in International Cooperation

The Protestant churches must use all their facilities, denominational and interdenominational, to secure American participation in international cooperation. New methods of education and all legitimate means by which public opinion is formed must be utilized in this effort. We urge a concerted program of intensive study of the Message of this Conference, with the appropriate social and political action as an integral part. This program should include youth in churches, and colleges, men and women in our military and civilian services, church members, and all men and women of good will in the community.

5. Relief and Reconstruction

Assistance given to those in special need will be conducive to the mutual sympathy and trust which are essential to international cooperation. War-ravaged peoples in many lands will require help in their struggle to re-establish civic order. Basic welfare relief will need to be supplemented by assistance to the churches to reconstitute their services within their local communities in order to become effective centers of vital life and hope. The churches of America are urged to support to the fullest their agencies of relief and reconstruction already in operation in order to assist the churches of other lands in this period of reconstruction. The World Council of Churches and the national Christian councils in Asia will afford channels of immediate services thus undergirding stable world order.

6. Race Relations

Race prejudice is a primary obstacle to world brotherhood. It is strongly urged upon churches and church members that they wage a continuing campaign against race prejudice in all its forms. The churches should not only support all efforts to wipe out discriminations against minority groups, but they should also deliberately arrange cooperative programs in which racial barriers are broken down. We recommend active support by the churches of legislation:

Providing for a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission;

Providing for the repeal of poll tax and other discriminatory laws;

Providing for housing projects without discriminatory practices and other measures designed to advance the well being and constitutional rights of Negroes and other underprivileged groups.

The Church must counteract hate in all its forms and expressions. Anti-Semitism represents a rising threat to brotherhood and must be wiped out. The Oriental Exclusion Act should be repealed and all Orientals be placed on the quota system. The churches should uphold the civil rights of Japanese Americans as they return from relocation camps and wherever they may be.

7. Proposal for Other Study Conferences

A just and durable peace is conditioned by the ability of our own nation to achieve economic stability and interracial justice in its domestic affairs. Therefore, it is recommended that national study conferences (1) on industrial relations and rural economics, and (2) on race relations, similar to this Conference on a Just and Durable Peace, be held under the auspices of the Federal Council.

8. Recommendations with Regard to Specific Immediate Action

(1) We urge a meeting of the United Nations, at the earliest possible moment, to consider the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

(2) We concur in the resolutions of the Federal Council of Churches and many other religious and educational bodies urging that Congressional action on Peacetime Military Conscription be deferred until after the war.

CONCLUSION

The unique contribution of the Church is to bring to all these tasks the maximum of Christian faith and the full development of its power, its motivation and its resources. Before we can do Christ's work, we must appropriate more of His life. Basic to all else are greater depth of Christian faith, greater endurance in Christian fortitude and courage, more whole-hearted devotion to Him and a more universal experience of His forgiving and creative grace.

As the Christian Church faces its duties and the dangers of this hour, it must undergird its own life and the life of its people with prayer through which is made available to men the infinite resources of God. Without Him we can do nothing. With Him we can advance toward His Kingdom of righteousness and brotherhood.

A Message to Christians of all Lands

We have met to rededicate ourselves to the fulfilment of our responsibility toward establishing a just and durable peace, and to consider what that task requires of us. We have been constantly aware of our comradeship with you within the Church of Christ.

We thank God that through these years of separation His grace has sustained those who have been faithful to His will. Many of you have withstood the violence of destruction, the outrages of persecution and the sorrow of loss in degrees far beyond our experience or our full comprehension. We have been humbled and inspired by such faith and valiant loyalty to our common Lord.

We look forward to the day when we may again meet with you in more direct fellowship, laboring together to reconcile the estranged peoples of the world and to lead them to the paths of righteousness and peace.

Even now we assure you that you are near to us in prayer and that we live in confidence that God is leading His Church to new power in the world.

"Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end, Amen."

WHAT DID THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE SAY?

The National Study Conference

on the

Churches and a Just and Durable Peace

held at Cleveland, Ohio, January 1945

and attended by

481 church leaders from
34 communions and
18 allied religious bodies and
70 city and state councils of churches

Issued a Message to the Churches

ON

1. Christian Faith and World Order
2. Christian Standards and the International Situation
   Dumbarton Oaks and Kindred Issues
3. Christian Action

WHAT DID THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE SAY?

I. Christian Faith and World Order

1. THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. "In our effort to make decisions and to take action . . . we are called upon to *re-affirm our faith.*"

2. A WORLD MISSION. "The Church . . . stands under divine compulsion to serve the world. This world mission places upon the Church equal responsibility for all people."

3. PRINCIPLE AND ACTION. "At all times, Christians must keep *ultimate goals* in view, but they have equal responsibility to mark out *attainable steps* toward those goals, and to support them."

4. AMERICAN ATTITUDES. "Whether America will be a help or a hindrance in building a peaceable world depends upon the *attitudes of individuals and groups* in our nation."

5. AMERICAN PRACTICE. "Only if our domestic order is born again with fresh vision and determination to *meet the needs of* men can America fulfill her mission and bring hope and encouragement to a broken world."

II. Christian Standards and Current International Developments

1. DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

"We recommend that the churches support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world cooperation but, since we do not approve of them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement:"

(1) *A Preamble*—to state the purposes of justice set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

(2) *Development of International Law*—to bring the actions of the world organization under law.

(3) *Voting Power*—to prevent a nation from voting if and when its case is being judged according to predetermined international law.

(4) *Colonial and Dependent Areas*—to establish a Commission to promote the well-being of colonies with the goal of their independence in view.

(5) *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*—to establish a Commission to promote human rights.

(6) *Universal Membership*—to admit all nations willing to accept the obligations of membership.

(7) *Limitation of Armaments*—to speed the reduction of armaments.

(8) *Smaller Powers*—to protect more fully the rights of smaller nations.

(9) *Amendment*—to make it possible to amend the Charter without the consent of all the permanent members.

2. IMMEDIATE WORLD COOPERATION. ". . . our government should adopt and publicly proclaim its *long range goals* . . . should not merely talk about its ideals . . . should get down into the arena . . . Our electorate . . . should not judge its government merely by immediate results . . . rather by its long term objectives, and whether it works competently to achieve them."

3. ECONOMIC COOPERATION. "A world point of view must be developed in economics, and the appropriate institutions developed. In such institutions, our own nation *must participate both for its own welfare and for the common good.*"

4. HUMAN RIGHTS. "The Commission we have recommended should seek an *international agreement* on the rights and freedoms to be secured to all people; it should further, formulate the *procedures for their realization* by action of the world organization and of the separate states."

5. Settlement in Europe with SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMANY. "The settlement . . . should remove the *power as well as the will to make war . . . should strengthen the forces committed* to liberal civil policies and to international collaboration. Among the constructive forces upon which a new Germany and a new European concord can be based, *the churches are of primary importance.*"

6. Settlement in Asia with SPECIAL REFERENCE TO JAPAN. "It is urgent that China's voice in international affairs be given special heed . . . (in) Japan, the *power and will to make war must be removed.* Treatment of Japan by the United Nations should be favorable to *constructive forces* within Japanese society and should aim to bring Japan at an early date into *normal relations* with the world community."

"We urge that the *time is at hand* when the governments of the Allied Nations should make a more explicit statement as to the *status* of both Germany and Japan *following the war.* We believe that such a statement is needed in order to satisfy Christian concern and to *prevent needless sacrifice of life* upon the battlefield."

7. DEPENDENT PEOPLES. "We call upon our government and others: (1) to proclaim *self-government as the goal* for all dependent peoples; (2) where dependent peoples are ready for self-government, *to give it now;* (3) otherwise, to *initiate progressive steps* suitable for each area for achieving that goal; and (4) in the interim to provide that all such areas shall be administered under the *supervision of world organization.*"

III. Recommendations for Action

"The task now before us is to channel the *spiritual power* generated in this Conference into *deeds.* Solemn pronouncements are not enough. Upon the minds and consciences of our people must be laid the duty and *opportunity* of *using* the world-wide resources of the Church to bring about a world organized for *justice* and *peace.*"

For the full text of this Message to the Churches write your Denominational Headquarters

OR TO

The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace
297 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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